THE SURVIVAL OF MYTHOLOGICAL REPRESENTATIONS IN EARLY CHRISTIAN AND BYZANTINE ART AND THEIR IMPACT ON CHRISTIAN ICONOGRAPHY

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IN his *Chronographia* (VI, 61) Michael Psellos tells the following story of the Emperor Constantine IX. One day the Emperor appeared in the hippodrome with his mistress Skleraina. A courtier, marvelling at her beauty, exclaimed: "It were no shame ... that man should fight for such as she," drawing a quotation from the third book of the *Iliad* which alludes to Helen of Troy.[1] It is not so much the fact that there happened to live in the eleventh century a courtier who knew his Homer by heart, which is worth noting, but that he could count on his fellow courtiers to recognize the quotation. The knowledge of Homer and other classics of ancient Greece had never completely died out in Byzantium, although there were times, primarily during the period of iconoclasm, when minds were so preoccupied with theological issues that the classics were permitted to collect dust. This, however, was swept off as soon as iconoclasm was over and the newly established Bardas University appointed the grammarian Cometas as Homeric critic. "Great souled Homer, Cometas having found thy books utterly aged, made them younger; for, having scraped off their old age, he exhibited them in new brilliancy to those of the learned who have understanding." So reads an epigram of the Palatine Anthology (XV, 37).[2] The undercurrent of an uninterrupted, classical tradition in literature and the arts, and the limited change of language were some of the reasons why Michael Psellos' story sounds so credible. We have sufficient evidence that epic poems, dramas, mythological handbooks and other products of classical literature were still appreciated in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods, and that in cases where they had survived with illustrations these, too, appealed to the Byzantine public and the artist who desired to copy them.[3]

Likewise in the Latin West we find an undercurrent of the classical tradition which, just as in Byzantium, is at times a trickle and then again grows into a broader stream, particularly in those periods which have variously been called renaissances, renascences, *renovationes*, or simply revivals.[4] Yet, in the West the classical tradition of mythological writings and their pictorial representations was not as direct and immediate as in Byzantium. In Latin literature the chief means of transmission was not so much the classical texts themselves, but rather the writings of Macrobius, Martianus Capella, and Fulgentius, i.e. the

[1] N. H. Baynes, *The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome* (The James Bryce Memorial Lecture, Oxford, 1946), p. 40.

[2] Ed. W. R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology* (Loeb Class.), V (1926), pp. 142–3.

[3] K. Weitzmann, "Das Klassische Erbe in der Kunst Konstantinopels," *Alte und Neue Kunst*, III (1954), p. 41 ff.

[4] A. Goldschmidt, "Das Nachleben der antiken Formen im Mittelalter," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, I, 1921–22 (Leipzig-Berlin, 1923), p. 40 ff.; E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, "Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art," *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, IV (1932–33), p. 228 ff.; J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du moyen âge français* (London, 1939); J. Seznec, *La survivance des dieux antiques* (London, 1940); E. Panofsky, "Renaissance and Renascences," *Kenyon Review* (1944), p. 201 ff.; H. von Einem, "Die Monumentalplastik des Mittelalters und ihr Verhältnis zur Antike," *Antike und Abendland*, III (1948), p. 120 ff.; R. Hamann-Mac Lean, "Antikenstudium in der Kunst des Mittelalters," *Marburger Jahrb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XV (1949–50), p. 157 ff.

fifth- and sixth-century authors who had reinterpreted the classical myths in an allegorical and moralizing manner. Of course, a certain estrangement from classical form and content was inevitable even in Byzantine literature and art, but here the interpenetration of the pagan and the Christian realms took place, on the whole, on a higher intellectual level.

Instead of reconstructing historically the process of continuation, adaptation, and transformation of mythological representations in Byzantine art, I propose to deal with the subject in a more systematic manner. I should like to show a kind of morphological process of transformation from classical into Christian art and to point out as many facets of this problem as the pictorial evidence permits. In trying to do so I have included in my demonstration several objects of the rich Dumbarton Oaks Collection in the hope that such a discussion will contribute to a better understanding of their stylistic and iconographic position in the history of Byzantine art.

I. Continuation and Weakening of the Classical Tradition

No other object could afford more striking evidence of a continued appreciation of the classical literary and artistic tradition than an illustrated Homer. In the Ambrosian Library in Milan there is a well-known fragment, cod. F. 205 inf., consisting of fifty-six miniatures of an illustrated *Iliad*, part of a manuscript which originally must have contained more than 200 miniatures. To execute such a comprehensive cycle with all its intricate iconographical details requires familiarity with the text on the part of the illustrator, even if he is only a copyist, and presupposes a public that is still interested in it. As long as the Milan *Iliad* was considered to be an Italian work of the third century, as proposed in the facsimile publication of Ceriani and Ratti,[5] it raised no problems with regard to the cultural environment in which it was supposed to have been produced, but since Bianchi Bandinelli in his recent monograph[6] has conclusively proved its origin to have been in the period of well-settled Christianity, it must now be regarded as a key monument of the classical survival in the Early Christian period. The less important problem that remains is whether the manuscript can still be dated in the second half of the fifth or in the beginning of the sixth century, and whether it originated in Alexandria, where the illustration of Greek literary texts on a large scale had apparently started in the Hellenistic period, or in Constantinople where, from the fifth century on, the survival of the classical heritage was strongest.[7] In any event the Milan *Iliad* is the product of a period in which Biblical illustrations had already become predominant.

Typical of the kind of illustration that had already existed in papyrus rolls, where the figures were lined up in a single plane,[8] is the one depicting Ares

[5] A. M. Ceriani and A. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis Pictae Fragmenta Ambrosiana* (Milan, 1905).

[6] R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad (Ilias Ambrosiana)* (Olten, 1955). Previous bibliography on p. 169.

[7] See the author's review of Bianchi Bandinelli, *Gnomon*, 29 (1957), p. 606 ff.

[8] For the system of illustration in ancient rolls see K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex. A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton, 1947), p. 42 ff. and *passim*; figs. 32-34.

before Zeus enthroned in Olympus (fig. 1).[9] There are slight discrepancies with the text: Ares had been wounded in the belly, not on his right hand as the miniature seems to suggest, and when he appeared before Zeus, Hera and Athena had not yet returned. The latter error resulted most likely from a conflation of two scenes which originally had been consecutive. But copying illustrators have always taken such liberties.

Subjects of the Trojan epic poems, not of Homer's *Iliad* alone, continued to appeal to the erudite Byzantine of the Christian era. To have recognized the awarding of the weapons of Achilles on a Byzantine silver plate, now in the Hermitage in Leningrad, presupposed a thorough knowledge of the Trojan saga (fig. 2).[10] According to the *Little Iliad* of Lesches of Mytilene it was due to the contrivance of Athena that the weapons were awarded to Odysseus, and this is obviously the version underlying the representation on the silver plate which shows Athena in the center, Odysseus at the right, and Ajax at the left. We owe to Matzulewitsch the proof for dating this plate in the sixth or seventh century, his evidence being drawn from comparisons with other silver plates that have datable stamps. He clearly analyzed the persistence of the classical style as well as some stylistic misunderstandings that are due to the relatively late date of the plate, but he showed little concern for the iconography where several incongruities must be pointed out.

In a representation of the Greco-Roman period would Athena, who had influenced the decision in favor of Odysseus, ever have been shown seated on the throne in the judgment hall of the Achaeans? An Etruscan urn, found in Ostia (fig. 3),[11] shows, in the same scene, the judgment throne occupied by an older man who is either Nestor or Agamemnon, while Odysseus is already laying his hands on the weapons of Achilles and Ajax is angrily taking his leave. In a Greco-Roman work of art, wherever a god or a goddess is involved in a terrestrial event, he or she appears—invisible to most—standing, or hovering behind or alongside the person protected by the deity. In having Athena take the place of an Achaean commander-in-chief, the Byzantine artist may well have been inspired by a figure of a divine emperor enthroned, for which there was a special tradition in silver plates, as exemplified by the well-known Theodosius missorium in Madrid.[12] Here we have the first signs of a mediaeval concept creeping into a classical scene from the Trojan War.

In the silver plate from Leningrad Athena speaks to Ajax, while, according to the story, she should turn to Odysseus whom she favors. Moreover, does Ajax here look like a man going mad and about to commit suicide as indeed he does on the Etruscan urn? How can the pose and gesture of Odysseus, which previous observers have thought strange, be explained? Nothing really seems to fit the story and yet there can be little doubt that its identification is correct, for there is the supporting evidence of Achilles' weapons in the segment below the feet.

[9] Pict. XXIII, illustrating Il. V, 868 ff.
[10] L. Matzulewitsch, *Byzantinische Antike* (Berlin, 1929), p. 54 ff. and pl. 35.
[11] C. Meyer, *Ann. dell'Inst.*, VIII (1836), p. 22 ff.; *Mon. Ined.*, II (1835), pl. xxi.
[12] R. Delbrueck, *Die Consulardiptychen und Verwandte Denkmäler* (Berlin, 1929), p. 235 ff., no. 62 and plate.

The whole composition looks like a pasticcio for which the artist took the figures from another context which, if we are not mistaken, can be identified.

The posture of Odysseus is that of a man who is beckoning and sneaking up on someone. Both acts, though strange in this context, are fully explained in a scene on the neck of a Roman silver oenochoe from Berthouville in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (fig. 4).[13] There Odysseus, who has been lying in wait for Dolon, cunningly beckons to him to come closer, only in order to kill him (*Il.* X, 338 ff.). Thus we conclude that the Byzantine silversmith used as a model an *Iliad* cycle which included the Dolon episode. Moreover he seems also to have excerpted the other two figures from an *Iliad* scene. The very miniature of the Milan *Iliad* already described (fig. 1) shows Athena seated beside Zeus and lifting her hand in a gesture of speech just as she does in the silver plate, but in this case she addresses Ares instead of Ajax. Yet this very Ares who stands rather calmly, with the spear in his left hand, might well have served as a model for our Ajax, and a slight lowering of the extended right arm was all that was needed to have him point at Achilles' weapons.[14] Such a mixture of figure types from different scenes, though usually from the same iconographical realm, is by no means an innovation of Byzantine art, but occurs also in Greco-Roman art and is quite frequent in Pompeian wall paintings.

This detailed analysis of a pasticcio holds also the key to the understanding of a Byzantine silver plate of the fifth to seventh century which is in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 5).[15] It represents an Amazon on a galloping horse, attacking a lion with a spear. Behind her an archer, clearly characterized as a Trojan by his Phrygian cap, draws his bow. This combination of Amazon and Trojan warrior leads us again into the iconographic realm of the Trojan saga: The *Aethiopis* of Arctinus began, as we know from Proclus' Chrestomathy, with the Amazons joining the Trojans as confederates and fighting on their side.

However, the Amazon and the Trojan are not fighting Achaeans; they are hunting, and both are aiming at a leaping lion, after having already killed a leopard. The classical sources are concerned, almost exclusively, with the warlike activities of the Amazons who fought against Theseus, Heracles, and finally the Achaeans, and mention their hunting only in passing. Diodorus Siculus says merely (II, 46, 1) that Hippolyte, their queen, exercised the maidens in the hunting of wild animals and drilled them daily in the arts of war. This easily explains why, in classical art proper, the warrior-Amazon is extremely popular, while her representation as a hunter, if I am not mistaken, does not occur before the late classical period, after the ties of epic iconography had

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[13] E. Babelon, *Le Trésor d'Argenterie de Berthouville* (Paris, 1916), p. 86 and pls. VII–VIII.

[14] The shepherd in the upper right corner who appears from behind a groundline remains unexplained. He holds a pedum and makes a gesture of astonishment, seemingly because of the unjust verdict of Athena. He obviously does not come from another *Iliad* scene, but may be explained as Actaeon expressing astonishment over the beauty of Artemis bathing (cf. the Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre—C. Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, pt. 1 [Berlin,1897], p. 3 and pl. 1); K. Weitzmann, "The Origin of the Threnos," *De artibus opuscula quadraginta. Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* (in the press).

[15] Catalogue, exhibition *The Dark Ages* (Worcester, Mass., 1937), p. 34, note 72 with figure (here described as from Asia Minor. Parthian. A.D. I–II cent.; *Handbook of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* (Washington, D.C., 1955), p. 54, no. 125 and figure on p. 59.

begun to slacken and decorative hunting scenes, in which heroes participated, had become a popular motif. One of the few earlier examples of Amazons hunting is preserved among the Antioch mosaics of about the middle of the fourth century (fig. 6).[16] It shows an Amazon riding a rearing horse and aiming her spear at a lion, a representation similar to that on the silver plate. She is, however, associated with members of her own tribe: a second Amazon holds a protective umbrella over the first who is presumably the queen, while a third, of whom only a small part is preserved, aims her arrow at the same wounded lion.

Thus this silver plate turns out to be just another pasticcio, the figures of which, however, are taken not only from different scenes, but also, in contrast to those on the Leningrad plate, from different realms: the Trojan saga and the hunt. It would seem that, from the point of view of iconographic coherence, we are here one step further removed from the classical source. Nevertheless, the individual types are just as classical and, in design, just as assured and elegant, and maintain a high level of craftsmanship. The formal vocabulary is essentially the same as in works of classical art proper, whereas in contemporary religious art quite a different set of formal conventions had already developed.

II. Revival and Disintegration

The primary concern of classical art was the understanding of the organic structure of the human body. This goal remained more or less valid for Byzantine art in general, even when, in Christian subjects, a more dematerialized figure style had developed. What wavered at various periods of Byzantine culture was the willingness either to outlaw or to tolerate the depiction of subjects of classical mythology concurrently with the study of classical literature. There was, as mentioned in the introductory remarks, a great intensification of classical studies after the end of iconoclasm, and, as far as the arts were concerned, this was focussed on the illustrations of classical texts which were copied with renewed vigor in the *scriptoria* of the capital, patronized by emperors and patriarchs alike.[17]

There is, for instance, in a tenth-century manuscript of the *Theriaka* of Nicander in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, cod. suppl. grec. 247, a miniature based on a Gigantomachy (fig. 7)[18] which in form and content is remarkably close to a Greco-Roman prototype. It depicts the giants recoiling under the attack of the gods who themselves are not shown. This abbreviation, however, is not necessarily due to the Byzantine miniaturist since it can already be found in a floor mosaic from Piazza Armerina in Sicily which dates from the turn of the third to the fourth century (fig. 8).[19] The comparison between miniature and mosaic is particularly instructive, since they both show similar

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[16] *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, II, The Excavations 1933–36* (Princeton, 1938), p. 182 and pl. 28, no. 39; D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, I (Princeton, 1947), p. 282; II, pl. LXIVb.

[17] K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art* (Princeton, 1951).

[18] H. Omont, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale du VIᵉ au XIVᵉ siècle*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1929), p. 40 and pl. LXVIII, no. 2.

[19] A. V. Gentili, "I Mosaici della Villa Romana del Casale di Piazza Armerina," *Boll. d'Arte*, XXXVII (1952), p. 35 and pl. I a; B. Pace, *I Mosaici di Piazza Armerina* (Rome, 1955), p. 47 and fig. on p. 49.

types, like the one at the lower right seen from the back, but the miniature, in contrast to the mosaic, is composed by making use of overlappings and fore-shortenings which create a real sense of depth. In this respect it is more classical than the mosaic, and this means that the tenth-century miniaturist must have copied, directly or indirectly, a model that was earlier than the mosaic of Piazza Armerina. What is most noteworthy is not so much the fluency and elegance of the design and brush technique, but the awareness on the part of the illustrator of the precise meaning of the picture, since it had not formed part of the original Nicander illustration. Guided only by an allusion in the pharmaceutical text which speaks of malicious spiders, creeping worms, serpents, and other injurious animals emerging from the blood of the Titans, the illustrator must have remembered a scene of a Gigantomachy from an illustrated text that described the battle more fully, in all probability a mythological handbook, and most likely the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodorus, by far the most popular text of its kind in mediaeval Byzantium.[20]

The comparison of the mosaic and the miniature is very revealing from still another point of view. The former is placed in a semi-circular niche which can, of course, be explained formally as an architectural encroachment. However, in a representation of the Gigantomachy on a fragmentary, red-figured crater in Naples[21] the semicircular line above the fighting and defeated giants indicates the vault of heaven that separates the giants from the gods beyond this line. Now it will be noticed that in the Nicander miniature the five recoiling giants at the bottom and in the center conform most closely to the mosaic and reflect most clearly the Hellenistic tradition of fighting giants, while the giants at the top look rather like swimming or drowning figures that have no parallels in an ancient Gigantomachy. It seems quite conceivable, therefore, that the model of the miniature possessed only the recoiling giants under a semicircular arch of heaven and that the other giants were added by the miniaturist from another context.

Yet it must be admitted that the revival of mythological subject matter in the ninth and tenth centuries had its limited effect on Byzantine art in general. Only within a circle of erudite Byzantine humanists who moved in the atmosphere of the patriarchal and imperial palaces were miniatures like the Gigantomachy produced and fully appreciated. They were not without influence upon other media, but as soon as they had lost their physical association with the explanatory text, their proper meaning was quickly lost and only a sense for the classical form remained.

There is in the treasury of San Marco in Venice a unique piece of rare beauty: a cup of ruby glass with enamel painting which belongs to the tenth or eleventh century (fig. 9).[22] Its seven roundels are filled with figures of gods

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[20] K. Weitzmann, "Klassisches Erbe," p. 54 ff. and pl. VIII, 15–16. About the *Bibliotheke* as a source of Middle Byzantine miniatures see the author's *Greek Mythology*, p. 78 ff. and *passim*.

[21] A. von Salis, "Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos," *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, 55 (1940), pp. 92, 112 and figs. 1–2.

[22] C. J. Lamm, *Mittelalterliche Gläser und Steinschnittarbeiten aus dem Nahen Osten*, I (Berlin, 1930), p. 107; II, pl. 34, no. 1 (giving older bibliography).

and heroes, and one contains a scene we believe to have derived from a re-
presentation of Oedipus and the Sphinx, an identification which is based on
the pensive posture of the warrior and the gesture of speech of the winged
creature that obviously poses the riddle. It is, however, more than questionable
whether the enamel painter still had a clear comprehension of the proper
meaning of this group. It almost seems as if he were not even really interested
in it, but that he was satisfied with decoratively filling the roundels with a
pleasing design of figures that had a classical flavor. For one thing, no classical
illustrator would have changed the lion part of the Sphinx into an entirely
human body, thus turning her, knowingly or unknowingly, into an angel. In
this transformation the Byzantine artist may have been helped by a model
such as the lamp of the Roman period in the Benachi Collection in Alexandria
(fig. 10),[23] where not only the head of the Sphinx, but a large part of her body
is rendered in human form, and where, for lack of space, she is shown in a more
upright position than is usual. The depiction of the Sphinx seated on an
architectural support instead of in a rocky landscape must not, however, be
taken as a mediaeval misunderstanding, since it had already been done in a
Roman fresco from Hermopolis where the support resembles and is apparently
derived from a theater prop,[24] and long before then on a red-figured cylix in the
Museo Gregoriano in Rome,[25] where the support, in even closer agreement with
the glass bowl, is a column. Moreover, the same vase-picture, unlike the lamp
but like the glass, shows Oedipus in a seated position. Only the substitution
of the rock by a throne, unsuitable to the setting of the episode on Mount
Phicium, is clearly a mediaeval error.

Early Byzantine silver had already shown a weakening of the classical
content, although figures like Athena, Ajax, and Odysseus in the Leningrad
plate and the Amazon and the Trojan warrior in the Dumbarton Oaks plate
were still clearly identifiable. But now, in the Middle Byzantine period, this
individual identity seems, at times, not only lost, but intentionally sacrificed.
This is particularly true for a whole group of ivory caskets which, because of
the ornament used in their frames, are usually called rosette caskets and
probably served as jewel boxes for noble ladies.[26] A very good specimen, from
the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century, in Dumbarton Oaks (fig. 11)[27]
has, on its back, three plaques with human figures which, though icono-
graphically unrelated to each other, were brought together for decorative
purposes. A putto in the center, holding an unidentifiable object which was
quite likely misunderstood by the copyist, is flanked by a fully dressed archer

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[23] I am much obliged to Mr. Lucas Benachi, the owner of the lamp, for kindly supplying me with
the photograph and for permission to publish it. A publication of Mr. Benachi's collection of terra-
cottas is being prepared by Prof. Kenneth R. Rowe of Leeds University.

[24] Sami Gabra, *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte*, XXXII (1932). The fresco is now in the
Egyptian Museum in Cairo. *Idem, Rapport sur les fouilles d'Hermoupolis ouest (Touna el-Gebel)* (Cairo,
1941), p. 98 ff. and pl. XLVI.

[25] P. Hartwig, *Die Griechischen Meisterschalen* (Stuttgart–Berlin, 1893), p. 664 ff. and pl. LXXIII.

[26] A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X–XIII Jahr-
hunderts*, I (Berlin, 1930); K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 152 ff. and pls. XLVI–LX.

[27] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II (Berlin, 1934), p. 82, no. 236 and pls. LXXVI–LXXVII.

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and a nude bearded warrior with shield and sword. The latter seems to belong to a group of big bellied warriors from a Dionysiac battle.[28] It will be noted that both warriors are designed, with their short, chubby legs, to resemble the putto in the center. Obviously, on this and other caskets, the artist tried to turn all figures, whether gods or heroes, into putti, and in doing so created a uniform classical type and achieved a decorative unity. This "putticizing," if it may be permitted to coin such a word, carried with it the abandonment of the sensuous quality of the classical nude and its transference to a sphere of unreality, whereby it became more readily acceptable to a basically Christian culture.

III. The Impact of Mediaeval Form.

In the process of copying scenes of classical mythology in a mediaeval surrounding, de-sensualizing was only one aspect. In a culture which increasingly denied corporeal values this device was often considered insufficient, and artists began to dress nude figures while keeping intact the arrangement and meaning of compositions. This process had already begun in late classical art at a time when Christianity could hardly have been held responsible for this change of taste.

There is, in the so-called House of Menander in Antioch, a mosaic emblema representing Apollo's pursuit of Daphne (fig. 12).[29] In contradistinction to Pompeian frescoes and other classical monuments, where Daphne is depicted nude or at least seminude, she appears in the mosaic fully dressed in a tunic that is fastened at both shoulders. Even more interesting is Apollo who is clad in a violet-reddish mantle, fastened over the right shoulder, that is clearly the imperial purple chlamys. Instead of the laurel wreath, he wears, set against a grey nimbus, the pearl diadem, similar to the one that became fashionable under the emperors of the Constantinian dynasty. This, apparently, is an early attempt to replace the timeless garment of a god or hero with contemporary dress. Here begins a trend not only to humanize the gods—this Homer had already done—but to historicize them. In Roman imperial times emperors were made divine, but now gods became emperors.

Each phase of the Middle Ages adjusts the dress of the pagan gods to the fashion of its day. In an eleventh-century miniature of Pseudo-Nonnus' commentary to the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, in the Patriarchal Library of Jerusalem, cod. Taphou 14, the Birth of Dionysus (fig. 13)[30] is depicted in three consecutive phases, beginning with Zeus taking the half-grown embryo out of the womb of the dying Semele, then sewing it into his thigh, and finally delivering it himself. Like Apollo in the Antioch mosaic, Zeus, as a Byzantine emperor, wears a crown, but now it is the jewel-studded crown of the Middle Byzantine type instead of the pearl diadem, and the gold embroidered tunic instead of the chlamys. The artist has shown restraint by not

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[28] For similar figures see K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 182 and pl. LVIII, nos. 242–244.

[29] *Antioch-on-the Orontes, III, The Excavations 1937–1939* (Princeton, 1941), p. 190, no. 136 and pl. 65; Levi, *Antioch Mos. Pav.*, I, p. 211; II, pl. XLVII b.

[30] K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 46 ff. and pl. XVI, no. 52.

putting the heavy loros over the tunic which would hardly have been fitting at the moment when the Zeus-emperor has taken upon himself the obligation of a midwife. Moreover the three scenes are placed in a surrounding of conventional Byzantine furniture and architecture. Even so, the poses and gestures of Zeus and Semele have changed so little that their classical prototypes can still be traced.[31]

IV. The Impact of Christian Iconography

Whereas in the last two instances mediaeval *form* was imposed upon mythological representations, there exist also cases in which Christian *content* had infiltrated mythological scenes.

One of a pair of Early Byzantine silver plates in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 14)[32] illustrates a story in which a youth in heroic nakedness is reading a letter and, at the same time, turning away from a woman who is trying to detain him. An attempted seduction, a resisting youth, and, as an important detail, a love letter in the form of a diptych are features that best fit the Hippolytus myth, and the seducing woman, therefore, is none other than Phaedra. Although the text of Euripides (v. 601 ff.), on which practically all extant representations of this myth are based,[33] does not mention such a letter, it is a familiar attribute in classical monuments, as may be seen on a Roman sarcophagus in Girgenti (fig. 15)[34] where Hippolytus looks at the diptych in his raised left hand without, however, giving the impression of nearsightedness, as he does on the silver plate.

Yet, there is one feature that is irreconcilable with the Euripidean text, namely, Phaedra's grasping of Hippolytus' mantle. In the drama as well as in all other representations the hero does not meet Phaedra alone, but in the presence of the nurse who must have delivered the letter. In Euripides the nurse *does* touch the hero's garment, in order to attract the attention of Hippolytus who (verse 606) rebukes her: "Hence with thine hand! Touch not my vesture thou." And, indeed, on the Girgenti sarcophagus the nurse touches Hippolytus' spear with her right hand and his chlamys with her left. In all likelihood the Byzantine silversmith was forced to abbreviate a fuller three-figure composition, and, in omitting the nurse, he had Phaedra touch the garment of Hippolytus. In doing so the meaning of the gesture was changed: what, in the case of the nurse, was meant to be a gesture of supplication then became one of seduction.

There is still another incongruity in the silver relief that likewise seems to have resulted from lack of space. Phaedra is leaning on a pedestal, a pose which

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[31] As, e. g. Roman sarcophagi, Robert, *op. cit.*, pls. XVI, no. 54 and XVII, no. 55, and a lost fresco from the Domus Aurea, *ibidem*, pl. XVII, no. 56.

[32] *Handbook, D.O. Coll.*, p. 54, no. 127 and figures on pp. 60–61.

[33] L. Séchan, *Etudes sur la tragédie grecque* (Paris, 1926), p. 323 ff.; Robert, *Sarkophag-Reliefs*, III, 2 (Berlin, 1904), p. 169 ff. and pl. XLIV ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia*, *XVIII* (1949), p. 162 ff. and pls. 29,15–30,22.

[34] Robert, *op. cit.*, p. 178, no. 152 and pl. XLVII.

seems a little too relaxed for a person at a high pitch of emotional strain. Such pedestals are theater props as can be seen in a second-century Antioch mosaic that depicts Phaedra, the nurse, and an angry Hippolytus (fig. 16).[35] Here it supports a statuette of Aphrodite, the goddess whom Hippolytus had offended, and beside it stands Phaedra with her right arm raised and playing nervously with the edge of her veil. By moving the pedestal and Phaedra closer together one can readily see how the former could become the support for Phaedra's arm.

Coming back to the all-important motif of the grasping of the mantle: was the Byzantine silversmith the first to invent this motif as a means of portraying a seduction? There exists a Late Roman floor mosaic from Porcareccia, now in the Vatican Museum (fig. 17),[36] that depicts among its twenty-four panels of scenes from the theater one in which the grasping of the mantle is the central motif, and on account of this an identification with Phaedra and Hippolytus has been proposed. But the comparatively short hair of the mask on the left and the longer hair of the one on the right suggest that the seducer is a male and the seduced a female and that, therefore, the mosaic can only be regarded as a formal, but not as an iconographic, prototype of the scene on the silver plate. While the Phaedra story is by no means the only one in Greek mythology in which a woman tries to seduce a resisting young hero, I cannot recall any representation in classical antiquity in which the artist has portrayed a woman in the seductive act of grasping a garment; on the other hand it is a common device for depicting the more aggressive male.

At the same time the most famous precedent for the grasping of the mantle of a chaste, resisting youth is found not in classical mythology, but in the Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. In every picture-recension of the Book of Genesis an illustration of this episode must include this motif since it is explicitly described in the Bible text. For instance, in the thirteenth-century mosaic in the narthex of San Marco (fig. 18),[37] which harks back to the so-called Cotton Genesis[38] of, as we believe, Alexandrian origin,[39] we see Potiphar's wife pursuing Joseph out of the door of her bedchamber and snatching his mantle which hangs loosely over his shoulder. Indeed, it seems more than likely that the Byzantine silversmith was stimulated by such an illustration from the Book of Genesis. After all, the sixth century, which is the approximate date of the silver plate, was a flourishing period of narrative Bible illustrations, as the Vienna and the Cotton Genesis testify, and it seems only natural that in a predominantly Christian culture they should have

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[35] K. Weitzmann, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, p. 233, no. 140 B and pl. 67; Levi, *Antioch Mos. Pav.*, I, p. 71; II, pl. XI b.

[36] A. L. Millin, *Description d'une mosaïque antique du Musée Pio-Clementin à Rome, représentant des scènes de tragédies* (Paris, 1829); B. Nogara, *I mosaici antichi conservati nei Palazzi Pontifici del Vaticano e del Laterano* (Milan, 1910), p. 27 ff. and pls. LVI–LXVI; M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theater* (Princeton, 1939), p. 404 ff. and fig. 530.

[37] F. Ongania, *La Basilica di San Marco in Venezia* (Venice, 1880–1893), pl. XIX, no. 4; S. Bettini, *Mosaici antichi di San Marco a Venezia* (Bergamo, 1944), pls. LXXXI–LXXXII.

[38] J. J. Tikkanen, "Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältnis zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, 17 (Helsingfors, 1889).

[39] K. Weitzmann, "Observations on the Cotton Genesis Fragments," *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend, Jr.* (Princeton, 1955), p. 112 ff.

exerted a reverse influence upon representations of Greek mythology. What makes this case interesting is that the artist not only took over an isolated iconographical motif, but must have been aware of a parallelism in the meaning of the two scenes, both of which implied not only a seduction but a refusal on the part of a chaste youth.

In another example that illustrates an episode from the popular story of the infancy of Achilles, the influence of Christian content and mediaeval form can be demonstrated simultaneously. A seventh- or eighth-century bronze plate in the museum of Cairo has, among its several infancy scenes which closely follow the classical tradition, one that shows a significant deviation from it. Illustrating the bringing of the boy Achilles to Chiron for his education (fig. 19),[40] it shows Thetis pushing the little boy in front of her towards the centaur. In all earlier representations of this scene, including a circular marble relief of the fourth century, likewise of Egyptian origin, in the Museo Capitolino in Rome (fig. 20),[41] Thetis holds the nude babe in her arms when she hands him over to Chiron, his future teacher.[42] Moreover, in the Cairo plate Thetis is nimbed, and this suggests that the changes in the composition were made under the influence of a Biblical scene.[43]

In an eleventh-century Book of Kings in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 333,[44] whose comprehensive miniature cycle is descended from a very early archetype,[45] there is a scene in which the child Samuel is brought by his mother Hannah into the temple to Eli the priest (fig. 21). The composition is very much the same, with the half-grown boy being gently pushed forward. A parallel such as this would also explain the fact that the boy Achilles is clothed, as opposed to the subsequent scenes of the Cairo plate where, in agreement with the classical tradition, he is nude. Thus it appears that the metal worker was influenced by a Biblical illustration only for the group of the mother and the child and in none of the other scenes on the Cairo plate. Once more the parallelism is not merely formal; the artist must have been aware of the similarity of content: in both cases a boy is given to a respected educator to be raised outside the parents' home.

V. Mediaeval Creations

With a comparatively rich heritage of mythological scenes available, the instances in which Byzantine artists set out to illustrate a mythological event entirely in the spirit and form of their own times, and without the use of

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[40] J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst, Catalogue général du musée du Caire* (Vienna, 1904), p. 257 and pl. XXVI.

[41] H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Oxford, 1912), p. 45 and pl. 9.

[42] K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 165 f. and pl. LII, no. 209.

[43] *Idem, Ancient Book Illumination* (Martin Classical Lectures, XVI) (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), p. 57 and pl. XXX, 66.

[44] J. Lassus, "Les miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XLV (1928), p. 38 ff.

[45] K. Weitzmann, "The Psalter Vatopedi 761," *Journal Walters Art Gallery*, X (1947), p. 38 ff.; *idem*, "Die Illustration der Septuaginta," *Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst*, III–IV (1952–53), p. 105 ff.

classical models, are rather rare. A few such instances from the ninth century are known,[46] but the renaissance of the tenth century seems to have prevented a further development in this direction, and most such attempts date from the Late Byzantine period. Even then they were unusual.

In Hellenistic-Roman times the most frequently illustrated text had undoubtedly been the *Iliad*, and it is hardly an accident that the only illustrated manuscript of a Greek epic poem known today is the well-known *Iliad* fragment in Milan (fig. 1). The fact that in the eleventh or twelfth century short minuscule inscriptions were added to the illustrations clearly shows that these were still highly appreciated at that period. At the same time the famous *Iliad* manuscript in the Marciana in Venice, cod. gr. 454, one of Cardinal Bessarion's prize possessions, that was written in the first half of the tenth century in a beautiful minuscule,[47] has no pictures, and it seems safe to suppose that its model, too, had none, since, otherwise, they would have been copied or provisions would at least have been made for their inclusion. In about the fifteenth century a few pages that had been lost were repaired and apparently at that time a few miniatures of a rather crude style were added at the very beginning of the codex. One of these marginal scenes (fig. 22) depicts the pleading of Chryses, the Trojan priest, before an enthroned Agamemnon who is dressed like a Byzantine emperor and wears a high crown. Chryses offers Apollo's wreath and a staff of gold, not, as the text suggests, one upon the other, but separately, and the staff is the imperial labarum like the one which Agamemnon also holds as a sign of his imperial rank. Thoroughly Byzantine, too, is the second scene in which Chryses, after having been repudiated, prays in the temple of Apollo Smintheus. Here Chryses is a Christian priest, with a censer, standing before a ciborium which encloses a stereotype idol on a pedestal.

How removed these scenes are from classical representations of this episode may be demonstrated by comparing them with the Iliac tablets of the first century. In a plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris (fig. 23)[48] Chryses bends his knees and touches the knees of the enthroned Agamemnon, as a sign of supplication, while the ransom is unloaded; and in the subsequent scene, as may be seen in the tablet of the Museo Capitolino (fig. 24),[49] the priest offers a libation on an altar that stands in front of a templum in antis. The inspiration of the Late Byzantine illustrator obviously did not come from an illustrated *Iliad* but from a Chronicle like that of the fourteenth-century John Scylitzes manuscript in Madrid.[50] Artistically these attempts are not too successful

[46] Notably in the manuscript of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Milan, Ambros. Lib. cod. E. 49 inf. (A. Grabar, *Les miniatures du Grégoire de Nazianze de l'Ambrosienne* [Paris, 1943]). Most typical is the illustration with Chronos wielding an enormous axe against a segment of sky, depicting in this naive manner the castration of Uranos (K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 90 and pl. xxviii, no. 98).

[47] D. Comparetti, *Homeri Ilias cum scholiis. Codex Venetus A, Marcianus 454* (Leiden, 1901 [facsim.]).

[48] O. Jahn, *Griechische Bilderchroniken* (Bonn, 1873), p. 4, 10, no. 2 and pl. iii c; K. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 39 and fig. 30.

[49] Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 2, 10, no. 3 and pl. i (top frieze); K. Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 39 and fig. 31.

[50] Biblioteca Nacional cod. 5–3 N-2. G. Millet, *La Collection Chrétienne et Byzantine des Hautes Etudes* (1903), p. 26, nos. 369–375; p. 54, no. C 869–1277; G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine*, II and III (Paris, 1900–1905), *passim*; etc.

compared with those of the Latin West where from the twelfth century on the rendering of mythological scenes in mediaeval form became widespread and artistically is often quite imaginative.[51]

VI. Transformation of Mythological into Christian Scenes

Of even greater consequence, perhaps, than the mere persistence of mythological representations within a Christian culture is the influence they exercised on the formation of Biblical iconography. It is well known that the earliest illustrators of the Old Testament, either Hellenized Jews or Christians, relied on the formal vocabulary of Greco-Roman art, having no pictorial tradition of their own. Formalistic art history has put its main emphasis on the tracing of types with identical poses and gestures in Christian and classical art. But since Hellenistic art had reached the point where it mastered the rendering of the human body from every aspect, physically and psychologically, and thus could and did represent it in every possible pose, it was more or less a foregone conclusion that for each figure in a Biblical scene a classical counterpart could be found. However, what scholarship has begun only gradually to realize is that the first illustrators of the Bible must have roamed through extensive classical picture cycles, searching not only for suitable figure types, but for whole compositions which were appropriate from the formal point of view and had similar meanings as well. In other words, the first Biblical illustrators had a good knowledge of the illustrated Greek classics and remembered where related episodes with similar actions could be found. We have already discussed a case of reversed borrowing in connection with the scene of Phaedra's attempted seduction which was changed under the influence of the Biblical story of Potiphar's wife (fig. 14). However, such cases remained rare, while the primary influence of mythological representations upon Christian scenes was not only widespread, but formed the basis without which the creation of Biblical picture cycles on a vast scale would have been impossible.

Unfortunately, this process cannot be fully reconstructed, since the chief medium in which the transformation of mythological into Biblical scenes took place was book illumination, and illustrated classical texts in their original form of papyrus rolls are completely lost save for a few fragments.[52] Scholarship, therefore, must rely chiefly on the equally scarce reflections in other media and on a few mediaeval manuscripts. So it is very fortunate that we can cite at least one instance of a Biblical miniature derived from a mythological illustration in a papyrus roll which has become known only very recently.

In an eleventh-century Octateuch in the Vatican Library, cod. gr. 747, there

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[51] E. Panofsky and F. Saxl, *loc. cit.* Most recently J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Romanische Bronze-schalen mit mythologischen Darstellungen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, X (1956), p. 109 ff.; XI (1957), p. 1 ff.

[52] Concerning illustrations on papyrus see K. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 47 ff. and figs. 35–43; R. Bianchi Bandinelli, "Schemi iconografici nelle miniature dell'Iliade Ambrosiana," *Rend. Accad. Naz. Lincei. Cl. Scienze mor., stor. e filol.*, ser. VIII, vol. VI (1952), p. 430, note I; *idem, Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten, 1955), p. 27 and *passim*; Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, p. 5 ff. and *passim* and figs. 1, 2, 10, 11, 37, 59, 72, 107, 117, 135, 136.

is a representation of Samson's fight with the lion (fig. 25),[53] illustrating the phrase of the fourteenth chapter of Judges which reads: "Samson crushed the lion as he would have crushed a kid of the goats." The miniature shows the hero strangling the lion by pressing its head under his armpit, an act which is not quite in agreement with the Greek συνέτριψεν, the word used in the Septuagint. What induced the Bible illustrator to depict the lion fight in this particular manner?—In our opinion, a model that depicted Heracles fighting the lion of Nemea.

In a third-century papyrus from Oxyrhynchus (fig. 26)[54] which contains a fragment of a Heracles poem with three scenes, all of which relate to Heracles' first adventure, the lion fight is depicted in the very same manner as Samson's fight. But in the case of Heracles there was a motivation for illustrating this particular method of killing since Diodorus Siculus (IV, 11, 3-4) explicitly states that the Nemean lion "required the compulsion of the human hand for his subduing," and that Heracles "winding his arms around the beast's neck choked it to death." This case demonstrates clearly that in the process of such an adaptation the mythological composition loses, to some extent, its precise relationship to the text after it has been introduced into the story of the Bible. This raises an important methodological question. Quite often students of iconography, when they meet discrepancies between a Biblical illustration and the Bible text, look for some other literary source to explain such discrepancies, while in many cases, we believe, these are caused by an unaltered adaptation of a compositional scheme. A second example will make this point even clearer.

In the Landesmuseum in Trier there is a fifth-century ivory pyxis which on one side represents the sacrifice of Isaac (fig. 27).[55] Abraham has just drawn the dagger in order to cut the throat of Isaac whose head he holds with his left hand. Large parts of the figure of Isaac are, unfortunately, destroyed, but enough is left to make the original pose quite apparent. He had obviously tried to run away and had sunk to his knee, when Abraham caught him and prevented his escape. This situation is clearly in contradiction to the meaning of the text of Genesis (22:9), according to which Isaac, quite submissive, should be on the altar, not beside it, as in the ivory. It would, however, be wrong in our opinion to look for another textual version of this Biblical story. The deviation can be more easily explained by the use of a classical model and, once more, we may expect this to be a mythological scene with a similar meaning.

There is in the *Telephus* of Euripides a highly dramatic scene in which Telephus, being pursued by the Greek chieftains, snatches the child Orestes. While he tries to reach the safety of the altar he threatens to kill the boy if harm should be done to him. This moment is depicted on an Etruscan urn, in

[53] K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton, 1948), pp. 6, 31 ff.

[54] K. Weitzmann in: *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, XXII (Oxford, 1954), p. 85, no. 2331 and pl. XI; *idem*, "Narration in Ancient Art," *Amer. Jour. Arch.*, LXI (1957), p. 84 and pl. 33, no. 1; *idem, Ancient Book Illumination*, p. 53 and fig. 59.

[55] W. F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des Frühen Mittelalters* (Mainz, 1952), p. 77, no. 162 and pl. 53; G. Bovini and L. B. Ottolenghi, *Catalogo della Mostra degli Avori*, 2nd ed. (Ravenna 1956), p. 45, no. 33 and figs. 47-50.

the Museo Archeologico in Florence (fig. 28),[56] where Telephus steps forward like Abraham and, although his right hand is lost, there can be no doubt that it held the dagger which he aimed at the neck of the boy Orestes. In spite of minor adjustments made by the Bible illustrator to adapt his model to the passage in Genesis, the similarity is close enough to suggest this particular Euripidean scene as his ultimate source. To this formal agreement may be added an ideological common denominator: in each case the sacrifice of an innocent boy is attempted but at the last moment prevented—in the mythological scene by the prevailing of reason and in the Biblical by divine intervention.

There is sufficient evidence to conclude that, except for the poems of the epic cycle, the dramas of Euripides were the most frequently illustrated classics in the Hellenistic-Roman period, and therefore it would not be surprising to find them widely used as a source for Biblical illustrations. There is, if I am not mistaken, a reflection of even the "theater style" in the very large head of Abraham: the mouth is broad and open and the eyes vacant as in a mask, and one gets the distinct impression that the ivory carver had in front of him a scene not in the "epic-heroic style" like that of the Etruscan urn, but in the "theatrical style" so common in Roman monuments, though he seems to have tried to avoid the appearance of a mask.[57] The results gained from the analysis of the Trier pyxis call for a closer scrutiny of this particular group of Early Christian monuments of which I should like to cite another example.

Among the treasures of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection there is a sixth-century ivory pyxis (fig. 29)[58] which, like almost every other member of this group, possesses some unique features. Moses is represented receiving the law in a composition whose peculiarities will stand out more clearly if we compare it with that of a contemporary ivory pyxis in the Hermitage in Leningrad (fig. 30)[59] which conforms to the more normal iconography. Here Moses, face averted, receives, with veiled hands, the tablets from the hand of God, while an Israelite looks on with his hand raised in a gesture of astonishment and in a receding pose as if recoiling from the awe-inspiring apparition. In the Dumbarton Oaks pyxis Moses is represented in a similar pose, climbing the mountain in order to receive the law, which is in the shape of a scroll rather than a tablet. These are variants within the Biblical iconography. But then there is, behind Moses, an Israelite who has thrown himself to the ground in a frantic mood, thrusting his arms about with wild and uncontrolled gestures. We do not know of any other representation of this scene in Early Christian or later art which includes this frantic onlooker; nor is there any hint in the Septuagint text that would provide an explanation. The alternatives can only be: is this figure based on another textual source, perhaps a Targum, a Midrash, or an apocryphal

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[56] E. Brunn, *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche*, I (Rome, 1870), p. 34 and pl. xxviii, no. 6; K. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 175 and fig. 175, where it is compared with a miniature of the sacrifice of Isaac in the well-known Gregory manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 510 (*idem*, fig. 173).

[57] For the distinction between the "theater style" and the "epic-heroic" style see Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination*, p. 73 ff.

[58] Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, p. 79, no. 168 and pl. 54; *Handbook, D. O. Coll.*, p. 104, no. 227 and figure on p. 117.

[59] Volbach, *idem*, p. 86, no. 190 and pl. 57.

passage, or has it slipped in from a classical model? Both alternatives are possible. Moreover, behind the figure just described stand two more onlookers who raise their hands in gestures of astonishment, though they do so quietly and almost without emotion. Each one holds in his veiled left hand a staff that is meaningless for an onlooking Israelite. Its incised spiral pattern is typical of the scepter in the hand of a theater king,[60] as may be seen in a fragment of a sarcophagus in the Louvre (fig. 31).[61] This indicates that we are dealing here once more with the impact of a theatrical scene upon a Biblical one, and suggests that the dramatic figure in the foreground also stems from the same source, presumably a tragedy scene.

Yet, unlike the Trier pyxis for which we proposed as its model a scene from the Euripidean *Telephus*, we have not been able to find a parallel among the theater scenes that have come down to us from the Roman period. It is essential to realize that of Euripides alone, the most frequently illustrated ancient dramatist, all of the nineteen preserved plays, in addition to most of the other fifty-five which we know only through fragments and quotations, had rich narrative cycles. For these there must have existed hundreds of miniatures of which only a few have survived through copies in other media. Consequently one should not be surprised that in many cases, where the influence of a theater scene is visible, the exact model cannot be traced. Thus, where the pictorial evidence is lacking one can only try to interpret the scene from literary remains. Since, as stated above, Euripides was the most frequently illustrated dramatic text, it is reasonable to consult him first. What comes to our mind is the story of Odysseus feigning madness in order to escape participating in the Trojan war when some of the Achaeans came to Ithaca to win him over. Presumably this episode was told in the prologue of Euripides' *Palamedes*, a tragedy with which no pictorial representations have been connected so far. To interpret the gesticulation of the kneeling figure as an act of madness seems quite appropriate, and two onlooking Achaean kings would form a suitable background to this. Admittedly this explanation must remain in the realm of hypothesis, all the more so since it is difficult to suggest a common denominator with the Moses scene, but it points perhaps in the direction in which the solution of the enigma of the Dumbarton Oaks pyxis will have to be sought.

The process of transforming mythological scenes into Biblical ones started, of course, centuries before these pyxides were made and coincided with the very beginning of the illustration of the Septuagint which, on the basis of its reflection in the frescoes of the Dura synagogue, can be assumed to have taken place in Greco-Jewish art.[62] When, centuries later, the New Testament was

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[60] The fact that it is held by a king in this fashion excludes its interpretation as a *skytale*, which one would expect to find only in the hands of a messenger (See Th. Birt, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* [Leipzig, 1907], p. 271 ff.).

[61] From the Campana Collection.

[62] E. R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period*, I (New York, 1953), p. 3 ff., and in subsequent vols.; C. H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue, The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report VIII, Part I* (New Haven, 1956), p. 398 ff.; K. Weitzmann, "Illustr. der Septuaginta," p. 116 ff. and figs. 24–26; *idem*, "Narration in Ancient Art," p. 89 ff. and pl. 36, nos. 14–17; C. O. Nordström, "Some Jewish Legends in Byzantine Art," *Byzantion*, XXV–XXVII (1955–57), p. 487 ff.

illustrated for the first time, this must have been done under conditions very similar to those that produced the Old Testament cycles, that is, at a time when Homer and Euripides were still the chief illustrated classics to be consulted and used by the artists. To demonstrate this point I may be permitted to choose an example from Western art which seems particularly instructive.

A ninth-century Gospelbook in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, cod. lat. 23631 (fig. 32), written in gold on purple, has a few miniatures which have variously been considered as products of the sixth century,[63] or as copies, contemporary with the text, made in the ninth century on the basis of Early Christian models[64] and even as tenth-century Ottonian works.[65] While the Carolingian origin seems to us the most plausible one, it suffices for our purpose to note that compositionally they are Early Christian inventions. One of them depicts in cross-form the Massacre of the Innocents, with many strange features that find no explanation in Matthew's terse account (2:16): "Herod slew all the children that were in Bethlehem." Normally this scene is represented by soldiers who kill the infants with swords and spears, but in the Munich miniature a very specific type is used which also occurs elsewhere in Early Christian monuments:[66] a soldier is smashing an infant by hurling it over his head, and the miniaturist emphasizes this motif by depicting it twice. Moreover, another slain infant is shown falling head first through the air as if it had been hurled from a wall or rampart. A famous story from the Trojan war tells of the killing of an infant in this particular manner. The *Little Iliad* of Lesches of Mytilene, according to the scholia to Lycophron's *Alexandria*, contained an episode in which Neoptolemus snatched Andromeda's son, the little Astyanax, "from the bosom of his rich-haired nurse and seized him by the foot and cast him from a tower."[67] An illustration of this story occurs in blackfigured vases,[68] and we assume that some later copy of the Hellenistic-Roman period was used as a model by the Gospel illustrator.

The connection between scenes from the Trojan war and the Massacre of the Innocents is not confined to this one motif. At the bottom of the miniature a soldier is dragging away a kneeling woman by her hair; his sword is sheathed, and there is no infant for him to kill. Neither feature quite fits the story of the Massacre, but both can be fully explained in an episode from the Trojan war. In the Iliac tablet of the Museo Capitolino (fig. 33)[69] the center of which is occupied by a complex composition of the *Iliupersis* of Stesichorus, one sees in

[63] St. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher* (Freiburg, 1906), p. 84 ff. and fig. 19.

[64] A. Boinet, *La miniature carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), pls. I–II; W. Koehler "Die Denkmäler der Karolingischen Kunst in Belgien," *Belgische Kunstdenkmäler*, I (Munich, 1923), p. 4.

[65] A. Boeckler, "Bildvorlagen der Reichenau," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XII (1949), p. 13 (here still wavering between a Carolingian and Ottonian origin); idem, *Ars Sacra, Kunst des frühen Mittelalters* (Exhib., Munich, 1950), p. 28, no. 58.

[66] E. B. Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* (Princeton, 1918), p. 62 ff. Whether his "smashing type" is "Provençal" in origin as he suggests may be doubted.

[67] *Hesiod, The Homeric Hymns and Homerica*, ed. H. G. Evelyn-White (Loeb Class., 1936), pp. 518–9.

[68] J. Overbeck, *Die Bildwerke zum Thebischen und Troischen Heldenkreis* (Stuttgart, 1857), pl. xxv, no. 22.

[69] Jahn, *Bilderchroniken*, p. 33, no. 66 and pl. I.

the middle of the top row the temple of Athena and, in front of it, Ajax dragging away Cassandra who kneels on the steps of the temple.

The *Iliupersis* explains still another motif not called for in the story of the Massacre of the Innocents, but necessary to a depiction of the Sack of Troy, namely, the prominently displayed altar. In the epic scene it is at the altar of Zeus Herkeios that Priam is slain, and in the Iliac tablet it occupies, quite properly, the very center of the city. Beissel[70] wondered about this altar in the miniature and connected it with a hymn of the Feast of the Holy Innocents which mentions an altar. But its round form indicates that it is pagan, not Christian. Once more, the similarity between the pagan and Christian illustration is not confined to mere formal adaptations, but extends to an ideological parallelism that reveals the learnedness of the Christian illustrator. In both cases a massacre took place in order to kill the offspring of a whole nation, yet one infant was destined to be saved: Ascanius in the Trojan story and Christ according to Matthew's Gospel.

VII. Renewed Impact of Mythological upon Christian Scenes

In the course of repeated copying, the classical elements, particularly those that were in conflict with the Biblical text, were either gradually eliminated or adjusted to the Christian content, thereby losing some of their original characteristics. After iconoclasm, however, and during the Macedonian renaissance we see a new infiltration of mythological representations into Christian iconography which can best be observed in the New Testament cycle, since at this period the main artistic energies were centered on the illustration of Gospel events at the expense of the Old Testament. The most striking case is the introduction of a new Christ type into the Anastasis, a Christ who, instead of approaching Adam, drags him out of Hell like Heracles dragging Cerberus out of the Lower World.[71] I should like to demonstrate that this was not an isolated case, and that the best examples of this renewed impact of classical models on New Testament subjects are to be found not in the narrative cycle of Christ's life, but more specifically in the representations of the great feasts which in the Middle Byzantine period had assumed especial prominence.

In the feast cycle the Anastasis is followed by the Ascension of which the most classical rendering I know is on the lid of a tenth-century ivory casket in Stuttgart (fig. 34).[72] Whereas the enthroned Christ carried to heaven by angels is traditional, there are here, among the apostles, several types which had not existed in earlier Ascension scenes. This will become clear by comparing the ivory to a typical Early Byzantine Ascension like that on an icon from Mount Sinai (fig. 35)[73] which is closely related to the representations of the

[70] Cf. note 63.

[71] K. Weitzmann, "Das Evangelion im Skevophylakion zu Lawra," *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, VIII (1936), p. 88 and pl. II, no. 1; pl. IV, no. 3.

[72] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Byzant. Elfenbeinskulpt.*, II, p. 30, no. 24 and pl. VII, 24a.

[73] G. and M. Sotiriou, *Icones du Mont Sinai*, Plates (Athens, 1956), pls. 10-11; *idem*, Text (1958), p. 25.

Ascension on the Monza phials,[74] the lid of the Sancta Sanctorum reliquary box,[75] and others. In the ivory the apostles are, first of all, more widely distributed than on the icon, and those of the rear plane are raised on a kind of dais reminiscent of a stage setting. While some apostles, like those pointing upwards to the ascending Christ, are traditional and can be found in the Sinai icon, others have no analogy in any early Ascension picture; for instance, the apostle in the middle of the lower right who excitedly turns around to his neighbor in order to strike up a conversation. There is a similar type, to the left of the Virgin, who addresses another apostle whose pose is even more unusual. Seen from the back, he is turning in an almost dancing motion, as if he were making a pirouette. The formal elegance of this pose is contrary to the hieratic concept that pervades all pre-iconoclastic Ascension pictures, and can only be explained by the influence of the Macedonian renaissance. It has been noticed that the style of this ivory is closely related to, though not quite the same as, that of the "Malerische Gruppe" of Byzantine ivories which, in addition to plaques with religious subjects, produced the classicizing rosette caskets. It is on these caskets that one finds dancing Maenads and other figures from the Bacchic repertory who resemble so closely the dancing apostle.[76] Yet on most of these caskets the Maenads are already more or less "putticized" (p. 52), whereas on a late-classical fifth- or sixth-century pyxis in the museum of Zurich (fig. 36)[77] a Maenad is still depicted in the more slender proportions of the Ascension apostle.

Even more incongruous for an Ascension is the equally emotional and dramatic apostle, close to the Virgin, who buries his head in his hand. Probably the artist wanted to convey the idea that the apostle is shielding his eyes against the light of the heavenly apparition—a gesture which would seem to be more suitable for a Metamorphosis, although no Transfiguration scene is known to me in which an apostle makes just this gesture. In the classical repertory of gestures this pose expresses brooding, a mood hardly proper for an apostle watching the Ascension of Christ. It is a most fitting pose, however, for Agamemnon, brooding and turning aside when Iphigenia passes him on her way to where her sacrifice and subsequent carrying-off are to take place. In this very pose Agamemnon is seen on an ancient marble altar in the Uffizi in Florence, the so-called Ara of Cleomenes (fig. 37).[78] Is it too farfetched to assume an influence by this particular figure from a Euripidean tragedy upon a mid-Byzantine Ascension? Not if we realize that this very composition of Iphigenia's sacrifice, of which Agamemnon was normally a part, was copied

[74] A. Grabar, *Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris, 1958), p. 17 and pl. III.

[75] H. Grisar, *Die Römische Kapelle Sancta Sanctorum und ihr Schatz* (Freiburg, 1908), p. 113 ff. and fig. 59; C. R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf, 1926), p. 151 ff.

[76] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, pl. IX, 21 a; K. Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology*, p. 180 and pl. LVII, no. 232.

[77] Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, p. 53, no. 98 and pl. 29; Bovini-Ottolenghi, *Catal. Mostra Avori*, p. 51, no. 42 and figs. 67–70.

[78] E. Löwy, "Der Schluss der Iphigenie in Aulis," *Jahresh. d. Österr. Arch. Inst.*, XXIV (1929), pl. I and figs. 2, 10–13; K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes," p. 180 and pls. 27, 9–28,11.

on a tenth-century Byzantine ivory casket, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.[79] True, Agamemnon himself was omitted from the scene on the ivory plaque, but it is more than likely that he existed in the Byzantine miniature which, in our opinion, must be considered a common model for both the casket and our Ascension ivory.

The Stuttgart relief thus reveals itself as a classicized Ascension for which the renaissance artist employed types from heterogeneous realms of classical iconography. Apparently he was satisfied with a merely formal adaptation, having had difficulty in finding an entire scene of similar meaning in classical art. In general it seems that in this period of the renewed impact of classical upon Middle Byzantine art the formal aspect began to play an increasingly important role because copyists no longer had an unlimited wealth of classical models at their disposal or the knowledge of mythological subject matter at their fingertips.

Although the Christological feast cycle, as mentioned before, shows within the religious iconography of the Macedonian renaissance the most distinctive examples of a renewed influence of mythological elements, other iconographical realms were also affected by this classicizing trend. A tenth-century ivory plaque in the Berlin Museum, depicting the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste about to freeze to death in the icy water (fig. 38),[80] may be chosen as an example from the hagiographical realm. The martyrs, and especially those in the front row, are represented in poses of extreme emotional stress, either with their heads drooping in utter dejection or looking up to the enthroned Christ who appears in heaven worshipped by angels.

As in the case of the contemporary Ascension ivory in Stuttgart, the peculiar quality of this renaissance creation stands out most clearly when confronted with a pre-iconoclastic representation of the same subject. A fragmentary fresco in Sta. Maria Antiqua in Rome (fig. 39)[81] shows the Forty Martyrs lined up frontally with very little variation in poses, all of them raising their hands in orant gestures and revealing no sense of pain, in agreement with the more hieratic, unemotional style of the Early Byzantine period. This forms the strongest possible contrast to the agile bodies in the ivory plaque which are seen from all sides, leaning backward and forward, and gesticulating wildly in all directions. The relief belongs to the same Constantinopolitan atelier that manufactured the classicizing rosette caskets filled with "putticized" figures from ancient mythology; consequently the carver of the Forty Martyrs plaque must have had access to the same repertory of mythological scenes.

It has already been noted by Otto Demus[82] that the Apparition of Christ in heaven, which does not exist in the early fresco, was taken from a composition of the Ascension of Christ like that of the Stuttgart ivory, and this applies

[79] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, I, pl. IX, 21 b; K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes," p. 177 and pl. 27,7; *idem, Greek Mythology*, p. 169 and pl. LIV, no. 214.

[80] Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *op. cit.*, II, p. 27, no. 10 and pl. III, 10.

[81] J. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, II (Freiburg, 1916), p. 722 ff., and IV, pl. 199.

[82] O. Demus, "An unknown mosaic Icon of the Palaeologan Epoch," *Byzantina-Metabyzantina*, I (1946), p. 108.

also to some of the martyrs, who raise their arms towards Christ just as do some of the apostles in the Ascension picture. At the same time, not all of the agitated martyrs can be derived from a composition of the Ascension, and this is true particularly of the most classical ones. One must, therefore, search the classical repertory for a scene in which nude figures are depicted in violent postures, recoiling under the impact of an invisible force. The subject which immediately comes to our mind is the battle of the giants against the gods as represented in the tenth-century Nicander miniature in Paris (fig. 7). One may, for example, compare the martyr at the extreme lower right, in the three-quarter pose seen from the back, who throws up his left arm, with the giant in the lower center of the miniature. The dejected martyrs in the front row who hold one arm under the chin and the other before the breast, not only show a similar formal conception, but express the same sentiment as that of the central giant in the mosaic of Piazza Armerina (fig. 8). It is, of course, to be expected of a Byzantine artist of the tenth century that, in spite of a very good understanding of the organic structure of the human body, he would object to the muscular exuberance of the giants and make his martyrs more slender and thereby more ascetic and ethereal.

There are other types among the Forty Martyrs who do not fit the formula of a recoiling giant, yet are very classical in appearance and must therefore have been derived from another iconographical realm. Among the various classical types and models involved I should like to point out only one more that is particularly striking, and revealing of the mentality of a Middle Byzantine artist. In the second row close to the center is a group consisting of an older, bearded martyr who turns to one side and tenderly places his left arm around the neck of a youth. If one can forget for a moment the context and define the sentiment conveyed by this group, one would describe it as one of affection, intimacy, with even a trait of importunity. There was a famous group in classical antiquity, existing in more than twenty replicas, which embodied just this sentiment and apparently stimulated the Byzantine artist to incorporate it in the composition of the Forty Martyrs, and which, as is generally agreed today, represented Pan instructing Daphnis in the playing of the syrinx.[83] The replica in the museum of Naples (fig. 40)[84] is particularly close as far as the pose and the profile head of the obtrusive Pan are concerned. Daphnis is turning his head away, but this is by no means the rule in this group, and in another replica in the Museo Nazionale in Rome[85] the charmed youth turns his head towards Pan, thus showing a response not basically different from that of our youthful martyr. In spite of these similarities, it must not necessarily be assumed that the model of the ivory carver was actually a sculptured group; indeed, for an ivory of the "Malerische Gruppe" one would

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[83] This group was called to my attention by Prof. P. von Blanckenhagen whom I wish to thank for this and other valuable suggestions made when discussing this paper.

[84] W. Klein, "Studien zum Antiken Rokoko," *Jahresh. d. Österr. Arch. Inst.*, XIX–XX (1919), p. 260 ff. and fig. 178; L. Laurenzi, "Problemi della scultura ellenistica," *Riv. dell'Ist. d'Arch. e Storia dell'Arte*, VIII (1940), p. 36 and fig. 9.

[85] M. Bieber, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (New York, 1955), p. 147 and fig. 628.

think first of all of a painted model. Actually, a rather badly preserved fresco from Herculaneum[86] depicts a variant of the Pan-Daphnis group, in which Marsyas and Olympus are represented in very much the same poses conveying the same meaning, and it is entirely possible that the model of the ivory carver represented Marsyas and Olympus rather than Pan and Daphnis. The Gigantomachy and the erotic group of music-teaching are indeed heterogeneous realms out of which the Christian artist chose his models for martyrs shivering and freezing to death in an icy lake.

Classical mythology and the forms in which it had crystallized had an ever-revitalizing power in Byzantine art. After the classical features had somewhat worn off in the centuries following the Macedonian renaissance they reappear with renewed vigor in the Palaeologan period, as may be seen in one of the finest creations of this period, a fourteenth-century portable mosaic icon of the Forty Martyrs in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (fig. 41).[87] Otto Demus has clearly demonstrated that in its classicizing features it is akin to the ivory just discussed and yet sufficiently different to exclude a direct descent. The attitudes of the martyrs are here again more restrained, thus more closely approximating the Early Byzantine ideal of dignified behavior. At the same time the faces are much more individualized and expressive and, in this respect, more classical than the lively and yet uniform heads in the ivory. It will be noted that in the Dumbarton Oaks icon there are new types of martyrs that exist neither in the early fresco in Rome nor in the Berlin ivory, as, for instance, the second from the right in the front row who, in despair, holds his right hand close to his forehead. This type appears once more in the Gigantomachy of Piazza Armerina in the upper left corner (fig. 8). Admittedly such a pose could also be found in other classical works, but the fact that so many gestures can be traced to this specific context, and that a copy of the Gigantomachy is known to have existed in tenth-century Byzantine painting, make the connection between these two scenes plausible from both the artistic and the historical points of view. One gets the impression that the ivory and the mosaic hark back to two different, though related, archetypes, and that whereas the model for the ivory was a creation of the Macedonian renaissance, the Dumbarton Oaks mosaic reflects the mind of an artist who tried to revitalize and, at the same time, to retain the more hieratic, Early Christian composition, infusing into it only a limited number of classical poses.

However, in both cases the influence of a Gigantomachy upon a martyrdom scene is not confined to an agreement of the poses of a few figures, since both events concern a group of men who, one by one, are meeting a slow death, without being able to escape or to offer effective opposition, and we presume that the Byzantine artists who designed a classicized version of the Forty Martyrs were well aware of this similarity of content and meaning as well as of form.

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[86] P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* (Munich, 1904–31), p. 110, fig. 29 and pl. 87.

[87] Demus, *op. cit.*; *Handbook, D. O. Coll.*, p. 147, no. 290 and figure on p. 151.

VIII. Combination of Mythological and Christian Elements

A free attitude with regard to the classical heritage is shown by those Byzantine artists who dared to place undisguised classical and Christian elements side by side, thus striving for a harmony between two cultures which at an earlier stage had sometimes been antagonistic towards each other. After the end of iconoclasm, when classical culture was no longer a living force, imperial court and patriarchal palace alike made classical learning a subject of humanistic endeavor, not only to be tolerated but to be cultivated insofar as it did not endanger the Christian foundation of Byzantine civilization.

One of the most successful examples of such a synthesis is the title miniature of the well-known Psalter manuscript in Paris, cod. gr. 139, which, as we believe, dates from the tenth century. David, playing the harp in the midst of his flock, forms the nucleus of the composition (fig. 42),[88] and he is surrounded by a wealth of classical motifs of which the most prominent is the personification of Melody who leans on his shoulder despite his apparent indifference to her. The closest parallel to this personification is Io, as she appears in several frescoes in Pompeii, seated on a rock and watched over by Argus; the representation most closely allied to our miniature being that from the Macellum (fig. 43).[89] Hugo Buchthal,[90] while admitting the close similarity of the two females, nevertheless objected to the idea that the illustrator of the Psalter derived Io from a composition like that of the Macellum fresco; David and Melody appeared to him to be so much a group composition that he postulated a classical prototype depicting a pair of lovers seated together on a rock. These two seemingly contradictory opinions can, we believe, be reconciled since an Antioch mosaic has come to light which represents just such a couple: a woman, who is clearly our Io-type, is seated on a rock with a shepherd who puts his arm around her (fig. 44).[91] For this and other reasons it has even been proposed that the mosaic represents Io and Argus, but such an identification meets with difficulties. First of all the shepherd is clad in an embroidered tunic and wears a Phrygian cap, attributes unsuitable to Argus. Moreover, the function of Argus is to guard Io carefully in order to prevent her escape, and nowhere in antiquity is he known to have been her lover. Another identification which has been proposed is that of Paris and Oenone, and this seems to us to be the correct one. The royal garment and the Phrygian cap fit the scion of Priam, and the syrinx is likewise a proper attribute of the nymph, as can be seen in a Roman relief from the Ludovisi collection in the Museo delle Terme in Rome.[92] Thus it seems that the mosaicist of Antioch used Io as the model for Oenone, his only modification being the addition of the syrinx. Such a

[88] Omont, *Miniatures*, p. 6 and pl. I.

[89] Herrmann, *Denkmäler Mal.*, p. 67 and pl. 53; K. Weitzmann, "Der Pariser Psalter ms. grec. 139 und die Mittelbyzantinische Renaissance," *Jahrb. für Kunstwissenschaft* (1929), p. 178 ff. and pl. I, fig. 2.

[90] H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London, 1938), p. 13 ff. and pl. I.

[91] *Antioch-on-the-Orontes, III*, p. 189, no. 135 E and pl. 64; Levi, *Antioch Mos. Pav.*, I, p. 210; II, pl. XLVI a.

[92] Robert, *Sarcophag Reliefs*, II, p. 17, with fig.

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composition, then, might well have been before the eyes of the Byzantine illuminator, although it must have shown the loving couple in a richer landscape setting than that of the mosaic, that is, with more grazing animals surrounding the royal shepherd. Whether or not this hypothetical model showed Oenone holding the syrinx which the Byzantine artist then omitted, is difficult to determine. Even if not, however, we would expect the classical Paris and Oenone group to have included some indication of the nymph's association with music, since this was quite likely the reason why the artist of the Psalter selected this type as a personification of Melody. Another reason why the Byzantine copyist chose this particular model may have been the presence in it of a royal shepherd in embroidered robes whom he equated with David in spite of the fact that he refrained from classicizing David in this fashion, but continued to use the traditional Biblical type. This group of David and Melody, whom one could hardly call lovers, was surrounded by the copyist with other figures of mythological origin and with a rich landscape setting that must have appealed to the patron of this lavish manuscript, who may well have been none other than the emperor himself.

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It must be pointed out that the mythological representations in Early Christian and Byzantine art, to which the first part of this paper is devoted, were never very numerous, even during the periods of conscious revivals. Byzantine art, in all the phases of its long history, was dominated by religious subject matter, based on the Old and New Testaments and on stories from the lives of the saints or from homiletic literature. Next in importance was the imperial realm which had its own widespread iconography, whereas the classical realm remained the concern of a small class of intellectuals having a humanistic outlook.

What, in the last analysis, is even more significant than the mere survival of mythological representations is their influence upon the formation of Christian iconography, not only in its incipient stage, but during the periods of revival as well, as I have tried to demonstrate by a few examples. In most cases where such an influence could be traced it became evident that the Byzantine artist had approached his problem intellectually and had proved himself to be well acquainted with the classical past as to both form and content. Consequently it should be the task of the historian to reconstruct this process of penetration of classical iconography into Christian iconography, not only by tracing individual types with regard to their artistic form, but by searching for whole compositions which fitted corresponding Christian scenes, and by uncovering, as far as the evidence permits, the reasons for their selection. The Byzantines, like their forebears of ancient Greece, were never satisfied with a play of forms alone, but, stimulated by an innate rationalism, endowed forms with life by associating them with a meaningful content. The change from Olympian religion to Christianity did not alter this basic attitude towards art. After all, the Byzantines were Greeks.
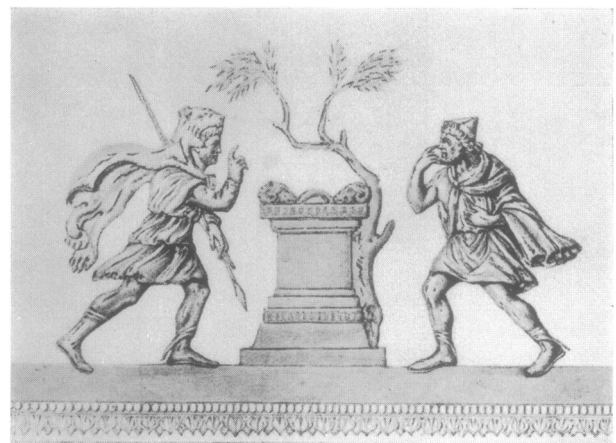
1. Milan. Ambrosian Iliad, Pict. XXIII

2. Leningrad, Hermitage. Silver Plate
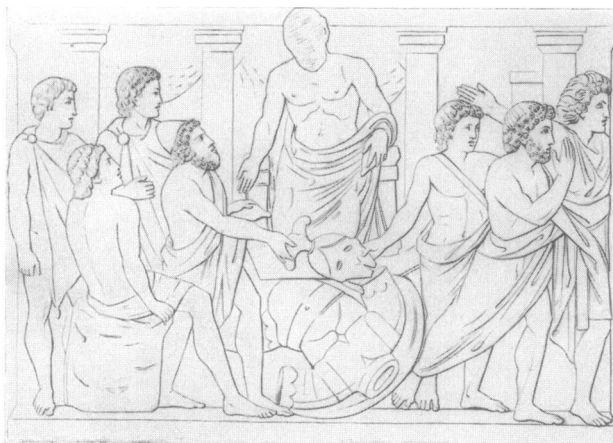
3. Ostia. Etruscan Urn

4. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Silver Oenochoe, detail

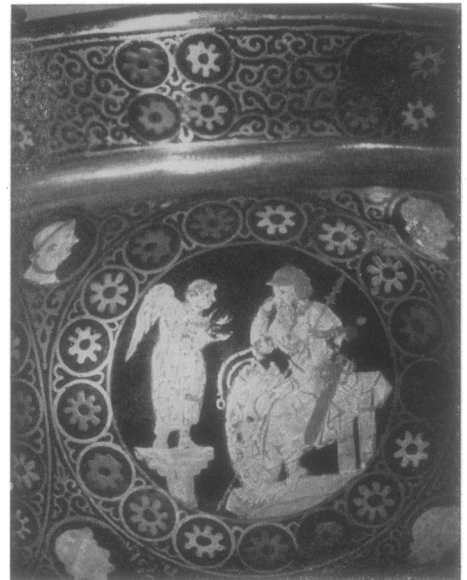5. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Silver Dish

6. Antioch. Mosaic Pavement, detail

7. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. gr. 247, fol. 47

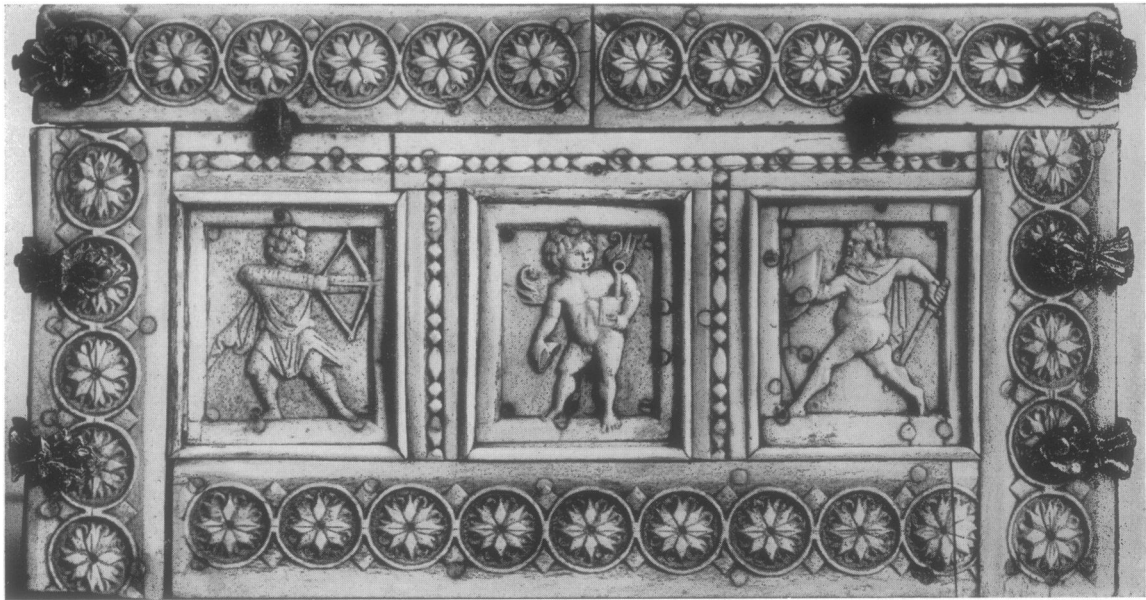9. Venice, San Marco, Treasury. Vase, detail

8. Piazza Armerina. Floor Mosaic
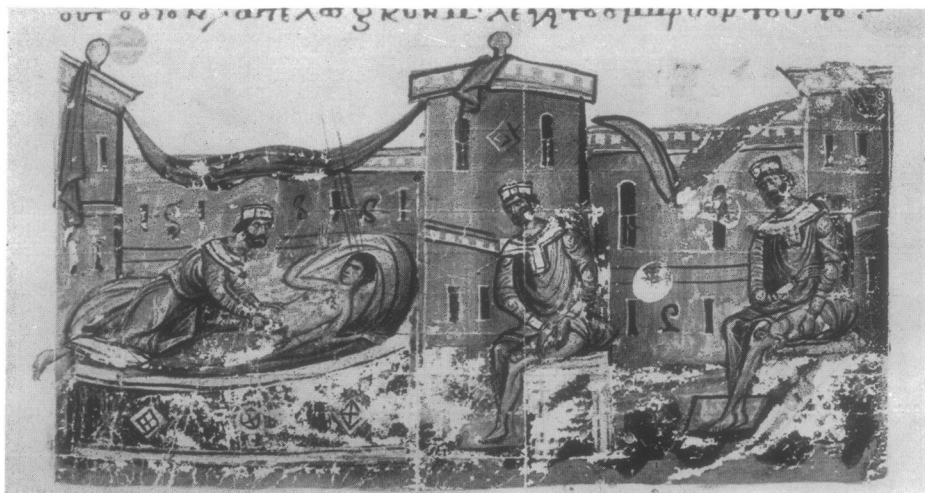

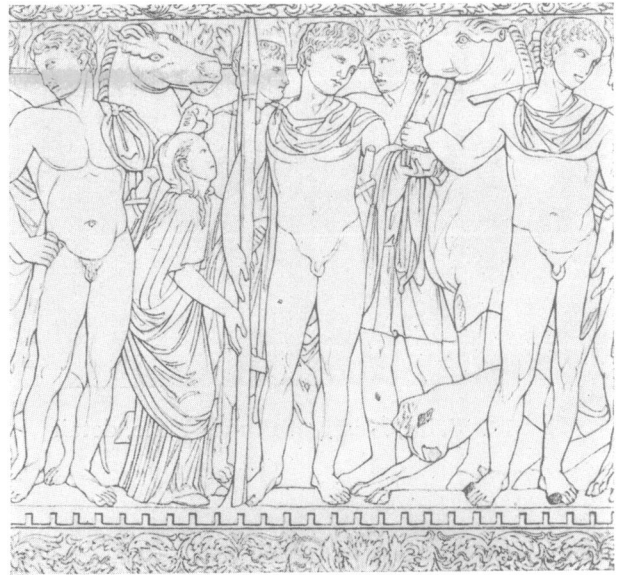10. Alexandria, Benachi Collection. Lamp

11. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Ivory Casket

12. Princeton, University Museum. Mosaic Pavement from Antioch, detail

13. Jerusalem, Cod. Taphou 14, fol. 311ʳ

14. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Silver Plate

15. Girgenti. Roman Sarcophagus, detail

16. Antioch. Mosaic Pavement, detail

17. Vatican, Museum. Floor Mosaic

18. San Venice, Marco, Narthex. Mosaic, detail

19. Cairo, Museum. Bronze Plate, detail

20. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Marble Relief, detail

21. Vatican, Cod. gr. 333, fol. 6

23. Paris, Cabinet des Médailles. Iliac Tablet, detail
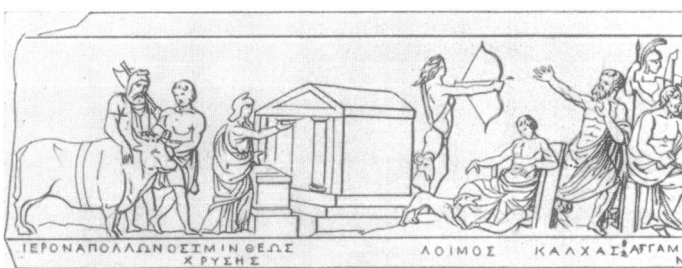
24. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Iliac Tablet, detail

22. Venice, Marc., Code gr. 454, fol. 6ᵛ

25. Vatican, Cod. gr. 747, fol. 248ᵛ
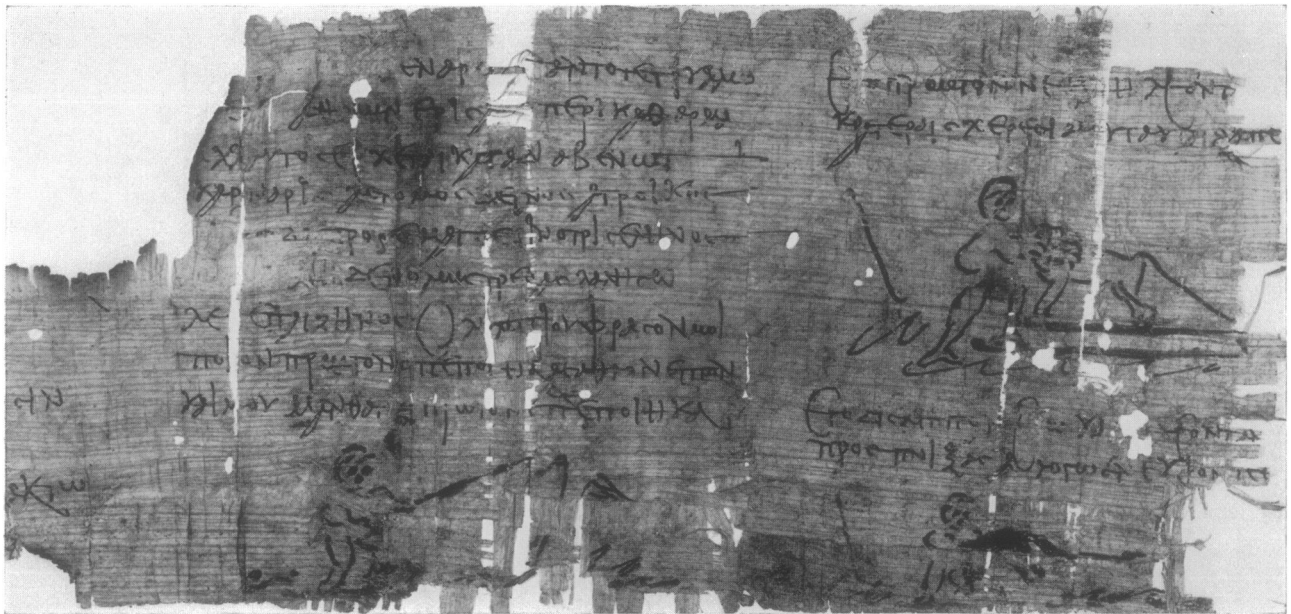
26. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Pap. gr. Oxyrh. 2331

27. Trier, Museum. Pyxis
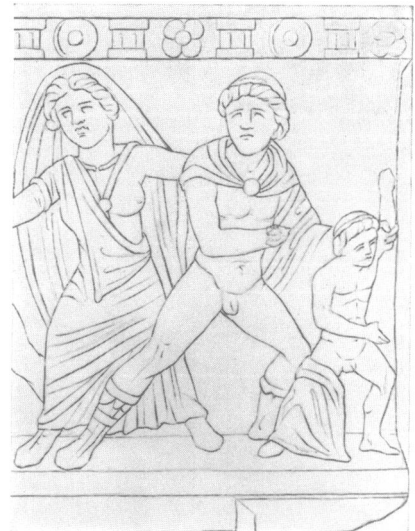
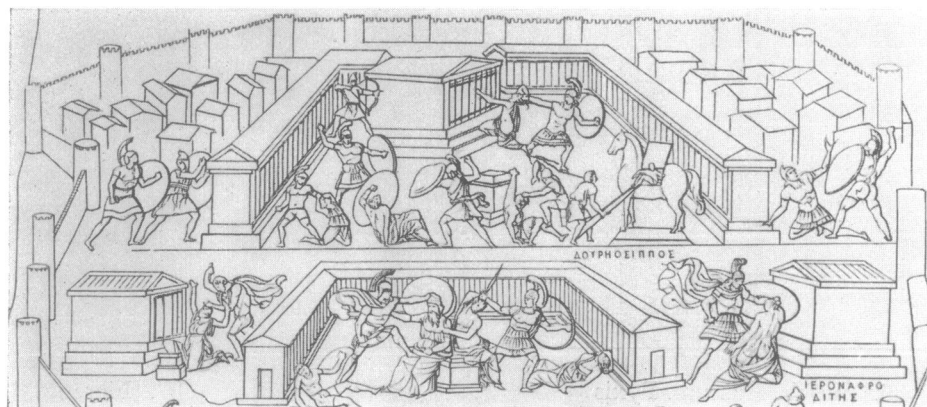

28. Florence, Museo Archeologico.
Etruscan Urn, detail

29. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Pyxis

30. Leningrad, Hermitage. Pyxis

31. Paris, Louvre. Sarcophagus, fragments

32. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 23631, fol. 24ᵛ

33. Rome, Museo Capitolino. Iliac Tablet, detail
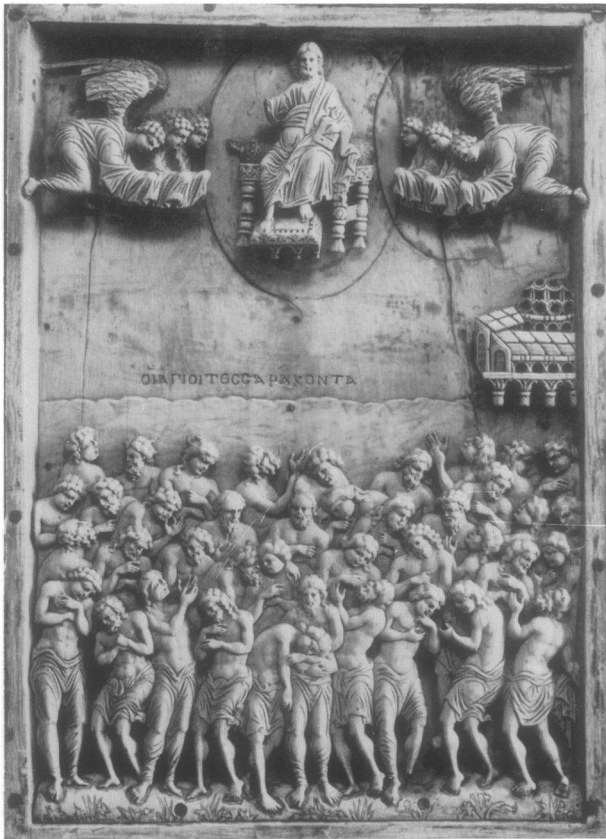
34. Stuttgart, Schlossmuseum. Ivory

35. Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine. Icon

36. Zurich, Museum. Pyxis

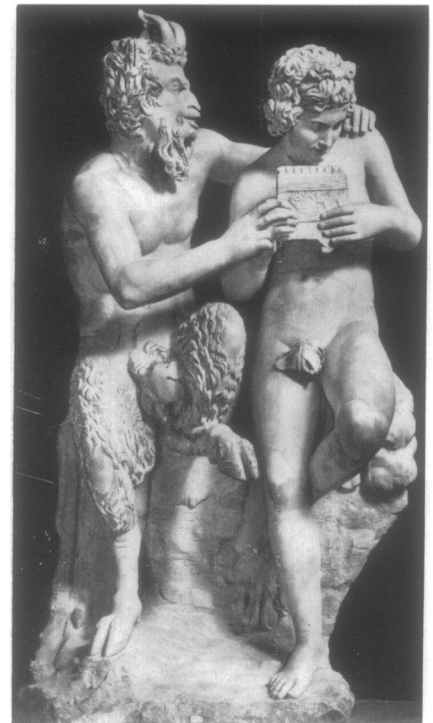37. Florence, Uffizi. Marble Altar

38. Berlin-Dahlem, Ehem. Staatliche Museen. Ivory

41. Dumbarton Oaks Collection. Mosaic Icon

39. Rome, Sta Maria Antiqua. Fresco.

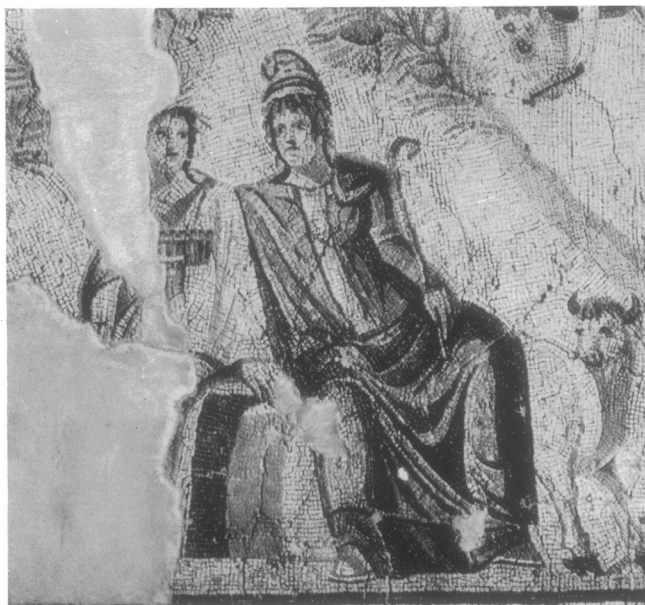40. Naples, Museo Nazionale.
Marble Group

42. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cod. gr. 139, fol. 1ᵛ

43. Pompeii, Macellum.
Fresco, detail

44. Antioch. Mosaic Pavement, detail